

Message Text

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SECRET STATE 241298 TOSEC 280004

EXCLUSIVELY FOR MR. SONNENFELDT FROM FUERTH

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (SONNENFELDT, HELMUT)

SUBJECT: SOVIET VIEWS ON NUCLEAR EXPORT CONTROLS: INDIA

1. I SHOWED YOU REPORTING CABLE FROM IAEA
CONFERENCE IN RIO ON MOROKHOV/SEAMANS CONVERSATION IN WHICH
FORMER, IN ADDITION TO REPEATING KNOWN SOVIET POSITION
REGARDING NEED FOR FULL FUEL CYCLE SAFEGUARDS, AND
DESIRABILITY OF COMMON POLICY TO THIS EFFECT AMONG SUPPLIERS
AS CONDITION OF SUPPLY, ALSO MADE SOME NEW POINTS: (1)

THAT REGIONAL CENTERS AND STORAGE OF PLUTONIUM WOULD NOT
PROVIDE NECESSARY SECURITY, AND THAT U.S. SUPPORT OF SUCH
CONCEPT WAS PERPLEXING; (2) ALTHOUGH SOVIETS WOULD PREFER
FULL FUEL CYCLE SAFEGUARDS ON HEAVY WATER THEY PLAN TO SELL
TO INDIA, THEY WOULD HAVE TO SETTLE FOR STRICT SAFEGUARDS
ON THE TRANSFER, FOR LACK OF COMMON POLICY AMONG SUPPLIERS.

2. MOROKHOV'S COMMENTS BRING TO MIND IMPORTANT POTENTIAL
SOVIET ROLE IN REGULATING INDIAN NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT.

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ESSENTIAL POINTS ARE (1) BECAUSE OF SUSPENSION OF CANADA'S

SUPPLIER RELATIONSHIP WITH INDIA, LATTER HAS LEGAL RIGHT TO TERMINATE SAFEGUARDS ON THE RAPP I REACTOR, AS OF SEPTEMBER 30 THIS YEAR; (2) RAPP I HAS U.S. SUPPLIED HEAVY WATER; (3) IT IS CAPABLE OF PRODUCING 45-100 KGS OF WEAPONS GRADE PLUTONIUM ANNUALLY; (4) INDIA REQUIRES A SOURCE FOR HEAVY WATER FOR THE SISTER RAPP II REACTOR COLLOCATED

WITH RAPP I; (5) THE SOVIETS ARE THE ONLY NEAR-TERM SOURCE FOR THE HEAVY WATER FOR RAPP II.

3. IN AN EARLIER MEMO, WHICH YOU SENT THE SECRETARY, YOU POINTED OUT WAYS CLASH BETWEEN U.S. NON-PROLIFERATION OBJECTIVES AND INDIAN NUCLEAR POLICY COULD THROW INDIANS ON SOVIET UNION FOR SUPPLIES, FACING SOVIETS WITH CHOICE BETWEEN THEIR INDIAN CONNECTION AND THEIR OWN NON-PROLIFERATION OBJECTIVES AND POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR EXPORTERS' COORDINATION. POSSIBILITY ARISES, GIVEN MOROKHOV'S VIEWS, THAT WE COULD ENLIST SOVIETS NOW IN COORDINATED POLICY AIMED AT PREVENTING INDIANS FROM EXERCISING THEIR OPTION TO THROW OFF SAFEGUARDS FROM RAPP I. FURTHER POSSIBILITY IS TO GET SOVIETS TO DO A LITTLE PUSHING ON THE FRENCH, WHOSE PREVIOUS ATTITUDE REGARDING FULL FUEL CYCLE SAFEGUARDS NOW (1) MAY BE ISOLATED; (2) MAY BE MALLEABLE, IF GOLDSCHMIDT IS RELIABLE GUIDE. IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED THAT INDIANS, IF DETERMINED, ARE NEARLY ABLE TO PROCEED WITH THEIR NUCLEAR PROGRAMS AUTONOMOUSLY, ALTHOUGH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC COSTS WOULD BE HIGH. PURPOSE OF THIS EXERCISE WOULD BE TO MOVE SOVIETS TO CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE WITH US, RATHER THAN LET SOVIETS ALONE WITH TEMPTATION TO PLAY SPOILER.

4. TIME WINDOW APPEARS AT HAND, POSSIBLY IN BACKGROUND OF UPCOMING SUPPLIERS WORKING GROUP IN LONDON (OCTOBER 7).

GEORGE VEST WILL BE IN LONDON FOR OPENING OF SESSION, AND SO WILL MOROKHOV. ROBINSON

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